1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

[67 155] This emotion illustrates nicely that obedience is espoused and that disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the [181 371] flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability to function economically and communally. It can result in some cases, of which Maugun is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap between theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

[67 158] It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat. Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's property are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of unworthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by saying that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but compared with girls, and even women, they are not.

[53] However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made to feel his status. Sometimes unconsciously and sometimes as a matter of fact, adults say, "He is only a child, he doesn't think yet." A commonplace comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equivalent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that to call an adult a child (*aneba*) is a great insult, because, as it was explained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing, has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

[51 185] Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has children. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

1:Du Bois E-S (1938-1939) 1964
GFS Also GFS

the sexes are [illegible] or supposed to as
"the father of the unborn." This modified chivalry is more for women
That it should occur in a group where patrilocal residence predomi
more given it perhaps a greater significance than if it occurred in a so
ciety with matrilocal residence. Children, therefore, are important beca
giving status to adults. They are valued also, as the most eloquent bid
ders, because they give the death feasts, which seem paramount pres
tige for the parents. However, it is quite possible that children may
have a value in adult eyes from which the children themselves do not
benefit.

There was one case of a child prophet, a little girl of about six called
Kuloi, who was able to sway the community for several weeks.

One day Kuloi's mother sent her to fetch a spoon. The child did not
return and could not be found all day. Her father and paternal grand-
father, who were on a dunning trip to a distant village, said they saw
her appear on the trail and then fade into thin air. That evening the
mother heard a rustling in the loft, asked who was there, and heard
Kuloi answer, "We are. We are coming down." And the child was dis-
covered hiding in the loft.

Some weeks later the mother and father were both in a village about
a day's journey away. Again the child appeared and this time ordered
them to return to their own home. She then disappeared. Actually, the
child had been left at home in the care of a sickly youth of about
twenty, who reported that she had disappeared from home at the time
her parents believed she spoke to them in the distant village. The child
was by now the center of attention in the community, and adults sug-
gested to her that she was in contact with a Good Being and was on
the way to becoming one herself. Kuloi was quick to play on this sug-
gestion, She ordered a special house built in which she would live alone
until the Good Being and his wife arrived to care for her. The house
was erected and adults assured me that it had miraculously grown
taller overnight. Kuloi ordered that an all-night dance be held, saying
her supernatural friends would arrive at dawn. When they failed to
arrive, interested adults, including her father and his cousin Malaleka
(see Malaleka's autobiography), were quick to make excuses and say
the advent was merely delayed.

For days Kuloi continued to be the center of attention. At a feast
she fell ill and everyone crowded around her in concern. Her rationali-
zation was that a small playmate had rubbed his greasy hands on her.
Her pronouncements were all in the traditional pattern connected with
the advent of a Good Being. She could not attend death feasts, all

1:Du Bois E-9 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Also OFS

indicate that women are not too eager to bear children, that men are [p.2]
more eager for offspring than their wives. When I asked Fanon the
interpreter about this, he said, "We men are the ones who want chil-
dren. Our wives don't. They just want to sleep with us. After a young
man has lived with his wife for a year or two and she does not become
pregnant, he is angry. He says, 'I work and work every night. I break
my back, but this woman does not conceive. I had better look for an-
other wife.'" That this was not a personal observation of Fanon's was
evidenced by confidential statements made to me by three young men
who were dissatisfied at their wives' lack of fertility.

The cared infants by men and boys and their affectionate attitudes [p.6]
toward babies have already been mentioned. Supporting the thesis that [p.5]
women are often less eager for children than men, were frank state-
ments by two older women that they had committed abortions during [p.7]
their first pregnancies to spite their husbands, who were buying other
wives. The low level of nurturing qualities in Arimalungers is reflected [p.8]
in the absence of pets, with the exception of an occasional piglet, which
has wealth value.

A further ecologic point that may have considerable weight is that [B5]
neither men nor women are considered fully adult until they have chil- [B6]
dren. Adulthood for men means financial status and a role in the pres-
tige system, whereas for women it carries no such social premium, their
life pattern is set in childhood and continues through life with only
marriage as a break, and marriage per se does not confer adult status.

This subject of children and the wish for them — as well as such in- [p.2]
dications as I have that men prize them as much, if not more, than
women — is far from exhausted, and there is some contradictory evi-
dence. For instance, if women are generally reluctant to bear children,
it is unlikely that questions on vital statistics put to sixteen women past
the menopause would give 7.5 pregnancies per woman, and that miscar- [p.4]
riages and abortions were only 10.5 per cent of one hundred and
twenty-one recorded conceptions for these sixteen women. Here, of
course, social disapproval of contraception and abortion may have acted
as a deterrent.

JEALOUSY

That men are not incapable of jealousy toward their children is [p.3]
nicely illustrated by the episode in the autobiography of Kokomni the
Sterna in which Langmai, her husband, reproaches her for neglecting
her field work in favor of their child. In this connection, and in con- [p.7]
tradiction to some of the preceding data that have aroused the men's
desire for children, it should be noted that there were in the community

Chapter 7

Adults and Institutions

339 THE foregoing chapters have searched for the possible genesis of the modal personality in Atkinsburg and simultaneously have tried to indicate how that personality is both the product of social forces and the active agent in them. In this section the attempt will be made to search further for the interrelated forces and forms of personality as they manifest themselves in institutions, values, and everyday modes of emotional expression and behavior among adults.

STATUS AND FINANCE

339 In the formation of personality the devices furnished by the society for placing oneself in relation to other individuals are important. In other words, the status forms of a culture may well have significant repercussions on ego development. In Atkinsburg there are four main factors determining status: age, sex, wealth, and kinship. The age and sex factors are beyond individual control and function automatically. This might be an optimal orientation situation for the individual, although the reverse of the coin must not be forgotten since it automatically disfranchises women and the young. The wealth factor is considered almost a function of age, although in practice it is far from being so. It is noteworthy that wealth status is not formalized. There is hardly a trace of institutional expression of rank or of inheritance of financial position. Every man's financial resources are largely, although not completely, consumed in his death ceremonies, since the wealthier a man is, the more elaborate his postmortem prestige. Social prestige depending on wealth, therefore, must be constantly validated by individual effort. The burden as well as the rewards of such effort rest primarily on middle-aged men. The manipulation of the wealth-status system is one requiring constant vigilance, aggression, chicanery, and an excellent memory. The stress that successful competition places on a man is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that, if they have able sons, old men usually withdraw gradually from active participation and retain power merely in an advisory capacity. They leave the actual cheating to younger and more vigorous men.

342 Every competitive system automatically implies that a large portion of the population will fail to achieve the goal set up by the culture. Growing, therefore, that a competitive system will automatically deter

2: DuBois E-6 (1938-1939) 1941 OFS Also OFS

means of food. The nuts are often roasted on the spot, and the children are given the kidneys, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is so promptly and unanimously procured as altogether to obliterate, for the food consumed in the less choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other criticisms, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued.

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different set of pressures for girls. Their play period is neither so long nor so free. They are more closely restricted to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefor more regular access to food. I know of no cases in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the great privilege of the small boy. She gets no ration during lunchtime unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to station her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat or fruits is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their households. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "treat," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This coincides with the situation of property which grants sons the ownership of all bush food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers, in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for, yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then is set during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Further, she has more opportunity and deliberate training than boys in the role of adult economics. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no crisis rites, no initiation ceremonies to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education to it. At about fifteen he begins to ponder the purchase of a wife and that means entering upon the whole complex financial game which is the man's chief labor and heaviest occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and unconvincingly enough often insists at this time on a nubbley ward, even if he must cook for himself.

There needs a day in the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a unique symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences positively helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually sometimes and valued in the culture. When older men become a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious one and unstressful one. Even though the whole weight of the custodian financial system acts to stabilize marriages, Arimo-Langura average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the longer experiences of childhood, the associated emotional disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat empirically permits children to satisfy their basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so pleased. Individual and village totemic spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of sorcerers who have cultivated a field, invisible bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky lovers are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by fe-ua at every stage of construction, and the importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or wedges must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

* Mixed herbs drawn used as ceremony.